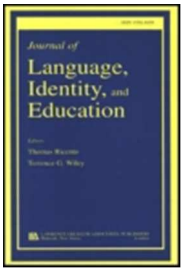

Representations of language education in English and French Canadian newspapers: A corpus-assisted discourse study

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Keywords:	Language Education, Language And Ideology, Canada, Corpus-assisted discourse study, French, English
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Representations of language education in Canadian newspapers 1

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1. Introduction

The official languages of Canada are English and French. However, the status of Canada's languages, the policies governing them, and the context surrounding them, continue to pose challenges for students, educators, administrators, researchers, and policymakers alike. The official status of English and French reflects the equality of its two "founding peoples" – French speakers and English speakers – and the equality of their linguistic rights. This status also arguably accords them intrinsic value as cultural assets with inherent worth. However, the policies have impacted upon society such that languages have also been transformed into valuable commodities. Language education has served as an important grounds on which the status of languages has been played out; it has also served as a site of contention concerning the respective values of the official languages. This paper explores representations of

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language education in Canadian newspapers with the aim of establishing similarities and differences between English- and French-medium representations and, more specifically, if these representations foreground the instrumental or the intrinsic value of languages. Such representations could be indicative of more fundamental beliefs about language (i.e. language ideologies), which in turn can affect the uptake of policy (Ricento, 2005, p. 50).

~~Drawing on a much larger study of language ideologies in Canadian newspapers (AUTHOR, 2013), this paper discusses the findings that pertain to language education within~~Drawing on a corpus of 8759 French Canadian newspaper articles (3.5 million words) and 18,271 English Canadian newspaper articles (7.5 million words) from 2009~~. These~~, findings suggest that language education is represented differently and is accorded different salience in English and French Canadian newspapers. The differences in the respective foregrounding and backgrounding of these education issues highlight the ways in which assumptions about languages (i.e., language ideologies) may interact – and sometimes conflict – with language policies. In turn, the differences suggest the difficulty in establishing what the "equality" of Canada's official languages really means (cf. Jedwab and Landry, 2011, p. 1).

This paper proceeds as follows: in Section Two, the history of language policy and education in Canada is briefly outlined. Then, theory concerning language ideologies ~~and attitudes~~ is overviewed. In Section Four, data and methods are presented, and Section Five details the findings. Finally, the paper concludes with a discussion and conclusion.

2. Language policy and education in Canada

English and French have been Canada's official languages since the Official Languages Act (R.S., 1985, c. 31 (4th Supp.)) enacted recommendations from the pivotal reports of the

Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. This Commission was created during the 1960s, a tumultuous period of Canadian history, when the English-dominant status quo became questioned not only by the sizeable population of French-speaking Canadians, but also by other groups marginalised by the history of British rule (Haque, 2012, p. 31-52). The early mandate of the Commission was to "inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races [i.e. the English and the French]" (cited in Jedwab and Landry, 2011, p. 1). The Commission's most significant recommendation was that Canada should become officially bilingual; it also recommended the development of official language education and opportunities for teaching official languages to both linguistic communities (Haque, 2012, p. 207). These recommendations were adopted into policy not only through the 1969 Official Languages Act (which made English and French the official languages of Canada), but also through the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Constitution Act, 1982, s. 33). Together, these policies served to re-brand Canada, making "the pursuit of equality between the English and French peoples part of the country's raison d'être" (Jedwab and Landry, 2011, p. 1).

The Charter also afforded official language minorities the right to education in their mother tongue. Section 23 of the Charter explains that citizens of Canada (and their children) who are raised or educated in English or French are entitled to receive primary and secondary school instruction in that language where the numbers of those entitled warrant (Heller, 2003a, p. 72-3). Notably, though, there are far more francophones dispersed across English-dominant Canada than there are anglophones dispersed across French-dominant Quebec. The latest Canadian Census showed that 21% of Canadians have French as a first language and

86% of these French speakers (6.1 million) live in Quebec. In contrast, 57% of Canadians have English as a first language and 97% of these English speakers (18.2 million) live outside of Quebec. French speakers comprise between 0.5% to 31.6% of provincial populations outside of Quebec (with ~~Newfound~~Newfoundland and Labrador and British Columbia having the lowest proportion of French speakers and New Brunswick the highest), whereas English speakers comprise 7.7% of Quebec's population, but most of them (73%, or 439~~,~~,834) are concentrated in the region of Montreal (Statistics Canada, 2011). Therefore, official language education rights tend to primarily concern francophones outside Quebec and anglophones in Quebec.

The recognition of language rights was a momentous breakthrough for francophones, who had for many generations struggled in the pursuit of French-language education~~.~~[1] (although many other linguistic groups also struggled in their pursuit of language education and other linguistic rights; see e.g. Haque, 2012). Hayday (2005) outlines in detail the historic challenges faced by French-speaking minorities across Canada in their efforts to obtain French-medium education. For example, he notes that in early 20th century Ontario, the *Association canadienne-française d'éducation d'Ontario* was forced to fight against the now-famous Regulation 17, which "made English the sole language of instruction for the province after grade 2 and called for strict enforcement of this regulation by school inspectors" (Hayday, 2005, p. 18; see also Heller, 1995, p. 380, 2003a, p. 68-9; Mougeon and Heller, 1986, p. 206-211). Although this regulation was softened in 1927 to permit bilingual elementary schools, publicly-funded French-language secondary schools did not exist in Ontario until 1968 (Hayday, 2005, p. 19; Mougeon and Heller, 1986, p. 208).

~~[1] Many other linguistic groups struggled in their pursuit of language education and other linguistic rights; see e.g. Haque, 2012.~~

There are many other examples in other parts of Canada where French-speaking communities struggled in their pursuit of French language education. Indeed, Hayday's (2005) detailed historical account suggests the extent to which understandings of language education have developed differently across the country. These regional approaches to language education are the result of historical, demographic, and cultural differences across Canada, which arguably continue to inform to a large degree the extent to which support for language education rallies or wanes in these regions. Today, although the Official Languages Act and the Charter ensure that official language groups do not face the roadblocks to education that they once did, other language groups continue to struggle in their own pursuits (see e.g. Haque, 2012, p. 206-212). In addition, the Official Languages Act and the Charter arguably changed the very concept of language education across the country, making it – for speakers of all languages – an important issue.

Beyond constitutional rights, concerns over language education quickly turned to the newly-acquired symbolic value of the French language in Canada (e.g. Haque, 2012, p. 204-7; Heller, 2003a, b). By making both languages official, the ~~federal government sought to make them~~two obtained equal ~~where~~ status despite French previously ~~French had been at a serious disadvantage~~being disadvantaged (Jedwab and Landry, 2011, p. 1). However, equality ~~could~~was not ~~be~~ achieved instantaneously. For example, in order to allow all Canadians to access services from the federal government in the official language of their choice (a provision guaranteed by the Charter and the Official Languages Act), the public service had to become bilingual (McRoberts, 1997, p. 79-84). This meant not only training the existing workforce (a task still being grappled with; see Gentil, O'Connor, Bigras, 2009; Hayday, 2011, p. 133, 139-140), but also recruiting a new generation of public servants who would be

bilingual. Private companies, too, found themselves with a new concept of the national clientele (see e.g. Heller, 2001, p. 136-7). Across the country, then, fluency in the other official language was gaining currency. In other words, not only did federal policies make the English and French languages symbols of Canadian identity (see Hayday, 2011, p. 133), these languages also became commodified through social practice (Bourdieu, 1977, 1991; Heller, 2003b).

French language education initiatives quickly grew across English-speaking Canada, and especially French immersion programmes (see e.g. Genesee, 1998; Heller, 1990; Swain, 2000). Access to language education was actively promoted by lobby groups such as Canadian Parents for French, which, in receiving financial support from the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages and the Department of the Secretary of State, effectively acted as an arm's-length advocate of federal language policy (Hayday, 2005, p. 110-127, 2011, p. 144; McRoberts, 1997, p. 108, 112). Notably, the Official Language Act and the Charter did not activate a similar movement for language education in the other official language in French-speaking Canada, where access to English language education had never been a problem; indeed, the opposite had been the case (see Hayday, 2005, Heller, 1995, 2003a). Instead, French-language schools in French-speaking minority communities became a symbol and a means of resisting anglophone domination (Hayday, 2005, p. 112; Heller, 1995, p. 380).

~~Finally, it is~~One crucial ~~to note that one of the reasons~~reason why education became a contentious site of social engagement is because of what ~~are~~is perhaps a fundamental ~~misunderstandings~~misunderstanding of Canada's language policies. As early as 1969, the year the Official Languages Act was passed, former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau lamented

that "[o]ur policy on bilingualism has been widely misunderstood. It does not mean that every English-speaking Canadian must learn to speak French any more than it means that every French-speaking Canadian must learn to speak English" (cited in Hayday, 2011, p. 132). Rather, Trudeau explained, it meant that every Canadian would be free to use either language in dealing with the federal government (and other public bodies in areas where the size of the group justified), and – importantly for our purposes here – they would have access to public education in their (official language) mother tongue. However, the language policy also had the effect that the English and French languages acquired symbolic value and came to serve as resources; for many Canadians, language education became a means to access these resources. ~~The changing value of English – and particularly French – in Canadian society arguably had effects on Canadians' beliefs about language.~~

Thus, the official status of English and French arguably accords them both intrinsic value (i.e. as cultural assets with inherent worth) and instrumental value (i.e. providing access to, for example, high-paying government jobs) (Bourdieu, 1977; Réaume, 2000; Ruíz. 1984). The fact that it is possible to "read into" Canadian language policy the instrumental *and* intrinsic value of languages means that there is space for interpretation on the ground. The aim here is to establish whether language education is represented in Canadian newspapers more with focus on the instrumental value of language, or more in terms of the intrinsic value of languages. The following research questions are addressed:

(1) To what extent are representations of language education similar or different in English and French Canadian newspapers?

(2) Do representations foreground the instrumental or intrinsic value of the French and English languages?

~~3. Ideologies, attitudes, and language policies~~

~~Beliefs~~The value of language – whether intrinsic or instrumental – is arguably based on beliefs and assumptions about ~~language~~languages more generally; these are often ~~approached~~studied through the lens of "language ideologies". Language ideologies are beliefs about languages or a particular language that are shared throughout a community; some beliefs come to be so well established that they are socially reproduced and understood as "common sense" (Boudreau and Dubois, 2007, p. 104; Woolard, 1998). Language ideologies are not fact or fiction, nor are they right or wrong; rather, they are beliefs based on lived experience, embedded in discourse, and shared throughout a social group. Language ideologies include, for example, understandings of the role language does or should play in society, the extent to which levels of fluency and regional or foreign accents are deemed "acceptable" or "appropriate" (cf. Garvin, 1993), and beliefs about the kind or variety of language that is or should be spoken in (certain sectors of) society (Woolard, 1998, p. 27). Language ideologies such as these are not fixed or hegemonic; rather, they are ~~naturalised, taken for granted,~~ manifold, historically-specific, and changeable (Eagleton, 2007, p. 47; Williams, p. 1973).

Language ideologies are important in language policy and planning in particular because they may affect the extent to which policies are adopted by the population. Since beliefs about languages within the population may have a bearing on language behaviour, and since the desire to influence the language behaviour of a group is integral to language planning (cf. Cooper, 1989, p. 98), then ideologies may impact on the extent to which a language can be planned. Ricento (2005, p. 50) explains:

> Understanding how ideas and beliefs become ideologies and how ideologies provide frameworks to coordinate the social interpretations and practices of dominant groups allows us to predict with some confidence how particular language policies and practices might be interpreted – and supported or opposed – by dominant or majoritarian social groups. Such understanding can also help advocates for particular policies or policy orientations develop strategies to counter such dominant ideologies in specific domains (for example, schools, the media)[.]

In other words, top-down language policy cannot be implemented within a void of previously existing language practice; therefore, language policies must contend with the explicit or inexplicit beliefs and norms of that social group.

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~~In Canada, the cornerstone of language policy is the equality of its two "founding peoples" – French speakers and English speakers – and the equality of their linguistic rights (see Ignatieff, 2000, p. vii, 7; MacMillan, 1998; Patten and Kymlicka, 2003, p. 30; Ruíz, 1984). Policies sought to redress the fact that, in reality, French and English speakers have not been equal throughout Canadian history, nor have their languages (e.g. Bouchard, 2002). The official status of these languages arguably accords them intrinsic value as cultural assets with inherent worth (Réaume, 2000, p. 246). However, another consequence of Canadian language policies is that English and French have been transformed into valuable social commodities across the country, providing access to, for example, high paying government jobs. This means that, as a consequence, Canadian language policies ensure that languages also have instrumental value as social commodities (Bourdieu, 1977; Réaume, 2000; Ruíz.~~ This paper examines the language ideologies underpinning representations of language education in

Canada, and more specifically, the extent to which (1) English and French representations align or diverge, and (2) whether languages are represented as having 'instrumental' or 'intrinsic' value. A~~1984). The fact that it is possible to "read into" Canadian language policy the instrumental *and* intrinsic value of languages means that there is space for interpretation on the ground. Indeed, the plausibility that languages are represented in both ways is the starting point for this study: the aim here is to establish whether language education is represented in Canadian newspapers more with focus on the instrumental value of language, or more in terms of the intrinsic value of languages. The following research questions are addressed:~~

~~(1) To what extent are representations of language education similar or different in English and French Canadian newspapers?~~

~~(2) Do representations foreground the instrumental or intrinsic value of the French and English languages?~~

~~In order to examine representations, a~~ large corpus of English and French Canadian newspapers is used as data. Newspapers are a useful site for studying ~~popular discourse~~language ideologies, because they reflect popular beliefs and reproduce discourse already in circulation in society (Conboy, 2007, p. 24; Cotter, 2010, p. 187; Fowler, 1991, p. 23). The newspaper's "audience design" (Bell, 1991) tends to accommodate addressees and their interests in part by reporting the "familiar and culturally similar" (Kariel and Rosenvall, 1983, p. 431). Also, by including letters to the editor, the newspaper includes in a more visible way the discourse of its readers. Several other studies have studied representations of language education in the news (e.g. Anderson, 2007; Goldstein, 2011; Thomas, 2006; Wallace and Wray, 2002). Blackmore and Thorpe (2003, p. 590) argue that although

representations of education policy in the media do not necessarily determine its effects, they do "mobilize attention by teachers, school administrators, students, and parents […] by deciding what constitutes an educational issue and what constitutes a desirable outcome". Thus, the ways in which policies are perceived by the public and promoted through the media are significant to policymakers and the government, too.

43. Data and methods

~~In order to examine representations of language education,~~The corpus ~~linguistics methods are used~~of newspapers is examined using corpus-assisted discourse studies (see e.g. AUTHOR, 2013; Baker, 2006; Baker *et al.,* 2008). ~~Corpus linguists use~~In this approach, quantitative and qualitative techniques are used to examine patterns in large bodies of electronically-stored language data known as "corpora". Some of the main components of a ~~text based~~corpus-assisted discourse studies approach ~~to corpus linguistics~~ include word frequency, collocation, and statistical significance. Frequent words and phrases are theorised to be meaningful in that they indicate items that are repeated within the data, which may reflect the prominence of topics within the community from which the data are drawn (e.g. Baker, 2006, p. 47; Stubbs, 2001, p. 166). This reasoning is in line with the social theories of Bourdieu (e.g. 1991) and Giddens (1984), among others, who contend that routine and often mundane processes serve to reproduce culture through tradition and conventions (see Stubbs, 2001, p. 241). Low frequency items, too, are important in that they may indicate items that are taken for granted or "common sense" within a corpus. When corpora are of different sizes, normalised frequencies (e.g. per million words) are used in order to compare the salience of items between datasets.

Corpus linguistics theory also builds on the work of John Sinclair (e.g. 1991, 1996), who theorised that meaning in language is not created by words used in isolation from one another, but rather from words used in combination. To study such meaning, researchers can examine collocates, which are words that "co-locate" or occur in proximity to another word (i.e. usually within four or five words from the node word). When a node word tends to collocate with a semantically-related set, it is argued to have "semantic preference" for a category of words (Baker, 2006, p. 86-8). Often, the strength of collocation is established using Mutual Information scores of statistical significance (see e.g. Baker, 2006, p. 101). Collocation patterns can indicate some of the ways in which a node word is discussed; in other words, collocation patterns have implications for studies of representations. Finally, statistical significance tests can be used to establish which words are unusually frequent or infrequent in a dataset ~~(see e.g. Baker, 2006, pp. 121-150). Statistically significant words are known as "keywords"; positive keywords have unusually high frequency whereas negative keywords have unusually low frequency. Normally, the test is performed~~ by comparing one corpus (the "primary" corpus) against another corpus (the "reference" or "comparator" corpus). Normalised frequencies of all words are compared across the corpora and chi square or log likelihood tests are used to establish if the differences between frequencies are statistically significant (see e.g. Baker, 2006, pp. 121-150). Words of unusual frequency are known as "keywords"; positive keywords have unusually high frequency whereas negative keywords have unusually low frequency.

The data under examination consist of newspaper articles and letters to the editor from the most widely-circulated daily newspapers (two newspapers per region where available[2], plus

[2] No French daily newspapers are published in the Prairies or in BC and the Yukon. In both Atlantic Canada and Ontario, only one French daily newspaper is published. Three daily newspapers were selected from Quebec, with two of these being considered "national" in scope.

national newspapers) over a three-week period in 2009 (see Table 1). The time period included a three-week time period between Canada's two most widely celebrated national holidays: St. Jean Baptiste Day (June 24) and Canada Day (July 1).[3] Since the two national holidays are so close to one another, they allow for corpora to be compiled synchronically within a specific time period (15 June to 8 July 2009). The corpora consist of 7,524,331 words (18,271 texts) in English and 3,589,786 words (8,759 texts) in French.

[3] Dates surrounding the national holidays were selected because the larger project examined language ideologies and discourses of national identity.

Region	Newspaper title	Total number of texts	Total words	% of corpus
Atlantic Canada	L'Acadie Nouvelle	1,421	504 ~~,79~~,979	14.07
Quebec	Le Soleil	2,212	778 ~~,20~~,320	21.68
Ontario	Le Droit	1,567	600,311	16.72
Prairies	(no data available)			
BC & Yukon	(no data available)			
National newspapers	La Presse	2,310	1-,067,634	29.74
	Le Devoir	1,249	638,542	17.79
Total French corpus		**8,759**	**3,589,786**	**100%**
Atlantic Canada	Moncton Times & Transcript	2,095	956,575	12.73
	The Halifax Herald	2,453	1,048,651	13.96
Quebec	The Gazette	1,462	437,310	5.8
	The Record	188	64,853	0.86
Ontario	The Toronto Star	1,568	525,760	7.00
	The Ottawa Citizen	1,825	563,159	7.49
Prairies	Winnipeg Free Press	1,085	623,717	8.30
	Calgary Herald	1,476	371,847	4.95
BC & Yukon	Vancouver Sun	1,205	403,944	5.38
	Whitehorse Star	501	230,204	3.06
National	The Globe and Mail	3,004	1,731,889	23.05

newspapers	The National Post	1,409	493,496	6.57
Total English corpus		**18,271**	**7,524,331**	**100%**

Table 1: English and French data

In keeping with other research applying a ~~combination of~~ corpus ~~and~~ assisted discourse ~~analytic methods~~studies approach (e.g. Baker, 2006), the ~~analysis~~ procedure for analysis was not unidirectional but rather a cyclical process of related and increasingly precise steps of analysis. First, the most frequent words and phrases and the highest-ranked keywords were established. Keywords were derived by comparing all of the texts that contained at least one reference to "language" or a language-related issue[4] against the sum of all newspapers. ~~Frequent words and keywords~~Keywords were then organised according to emergent thematic categories and the collocates, clusters and concordance lines of relevant words were examined in order to flesh out the details of how they were used in context. ~~When frequent words or keywords~~In addition, the relative frequencies of word referring to official languages (e.g. "English", "French") were ~~expanded into full~~compared across corpora; the collocates of these words were also analysed according to emergent thematic categories and concordance lines~~, these lines~~ were analysed using discourse analytic tools as appropriate.[5] When a saturation point was reached with the findings from keywords and frequent words,

[4] French terms included ANGLAIS, ANGLAISE, ANGLAISES, ANGLICISME, ANGLICISE, ANGLO, ANGLOS, ANGLOPHONE, ANGLOPHONES, BILINGUE, BILINGUES, BILINGUISME, FRANÇAIS, FRANÇAISE, FRANÇAISES, FRANCO, FRANCOS, FRANCOPHONE, FRANCOPHONES, FRANCOPHONIE, LANGAGE, LANGAGES, LANGAGIER, LANGAGIÈRE, LANGAGIÈRES, LINGUISTIQUE, LINGUISTIQUES, LANGUE, LANGUES. English terms included ANGLO, ANGLOS, ANGLICIZE, ANGLOPHONE, ANGLOPHONES, BILINGUAL, BILINGUALS, BILINGUALISM, ENGLISH, FRANCO, FRANCOPHONE, FRANCOPHONES, FRANCOPHONIE, FRENCH, LANGUAGE, LANGUAGES, LINGUISTIC, LINGUISTICS, MONOLINGUAL, MULTILINGUAL, UNILINGUAL.

[5] Due to space restrictions and since this paper presents only the corpus linguistics findings, details of the discourse analysis are not presented here. Readers can refer to AUTHOR, 2013a.

downsampled articles were analysed (cf. Baker *et al.,* 2008). These included four texts each in English and French with the most references to language (see note 3) per million words; these texts were examined using fine-grained discourse analysis (see note 4).

In the next section, findings pertaining to representations of language education that emerged from corpus linguistic methods are presented. In order for the meaning of these representations to be fully understood, though, some more general findings about representations of languages within this dataset are first overviewed. A discussion of findings will conclude the paper in Section 6.

~~5~~4. Findings

~~Since findings pertaining to representations of language education emerged from a larger study of language ideologies in Canadian newspapers (AUTHOR, 2013a), it is useful to briefly overview some of the relevant findings. Most notably, this study found that in the French newspapers,~~Findings revealed that language issues – and particularly issues pertaining to the French language – are discussed more frequently and more explicitly~~. In contrast,~~ in French newspapers, whereas English Canadian newspapers discuss language issues less, and understandings of the English language in particular tend to be embedded and inexplicit.

~~Specifically, the study found that~~ More specifically, 15.9% of all French Canadian newspaper texts contained at least one reference to "language" (i.e. *langue*) or a variety of terms indexing language issues (see note 3). In contrast, only 7.9% of all English Canadian newspapers contained at least one reference to "language" or terms indexing language issues (see note 3). In other words, language issues and metalinguistic commentary appear to be more salient in the French Canadian newspapers than in the English Canadian newspapers. In

addition, while French is the language most discussed in the French newspapers, it is also the language most discussed in the English newspapers. In other words, whereas the first language predominates in the French newspapers, the foreign or second language predominates in the English newspapers. This is clear from the frequencies of individual words. While in normalised frequencies (per million words) there are 320 references to FRANÇAIS, 107 references to FRANÇAISE and 19 references to FRANÇAISES in the French corpus, there are only 104 references to ANGLAIS, 14 references to ANGLAISE, and 1.4 references to ANGLAISES. Thus, references to FRANÇAIS/E/S occur more than twice as often as references to ANGLAIS/E/S. In contrast, in normalised frequencies (per million words) there are 105 references to ENGLISH and 198 references to FRENCH in the English corpus. Thus, references to FRENCH occur nearly twice as often as references to ENGLISH.[6]

English tends to be discussed most often when other languages are also under discussion. In other words, references to ENGLISH tend to collocate with other language-related terms; thus, discussions of English tend not to occur on their own. This is not only the case with the word ENGLISH, but also with other English-related terms such as ANGLOPHONES. In the English newspapers, 42.5% of occurrences of ANGLOPHONES collocate with FRANCOPHONES, FRENCH and ALLOPHONES. In contrast, the term FRANCOPHONES appears to be much more capable of existing on its own (i.e., not compared with another language or language group), with only 15% of occurrences of FRANCOPHONES collocating with ANGLOPHONES, FRENCH, and

[6] The cases where ENGLISH and FRENCH refer to national identity were not excluded here because the larger study explored language *and* national identity. Also, the difference between national identity (France), national identity (French Canadian) and linguistic identity (French/French Canadian speaker) is often impossible to distinguish. Certainly, some obvious cases could be excluded, but since such categorisation could not be exhaustive or wholly objective, it was abandoned at early stages.

ENGLISH. In other words, discussions of francophones can occur on their own whereas discussions of anglophones tend to take place in discursive contexts where other language groups are also under discussion. Thus, in English newspapers, ANGLOPHONES is a term that tends not to be used on its own; rather, it is often used in opposition with other languages or linguistic labels. Table 2 shows selected concordance lines in which ANGLOPHONE collocates with language-related terms, including FRANCOPHONE/S, ~~QUEBEC~~QUEBEC, and ~~FRENCH.~~FRENCH.

have a facility for languages. Well, **anglophones** are just as smart as **francophones**."
atural fear **when speaking French that anglophones feel more than francophones** (who s
er cent of **non-francophones feel that anglophones speak French** at a satisfactory lev
Anglophones speak satisfactory French: 36 per
onsidered a francophone is a Canadian anglophone who also speaks French. Not content
n English. After all, **the majority of anglophones who have weathered Quebec's** politi
kely to be able to speak English than **anglophones are to speak French**, with 43.4 per
ts of eyes to see if **francophones and anglophones** can appreciate the humour. In this
into **heavily-francophone regions than anglophones** might do. But as long as Montreal
rtunities to **use the French language. Anglophones will develop their skills** in conte

Table 2: Selected English concordance lines in which ANGLOPHONE/S collocates with FRANCOPHONE/S, QUEBEC, and FRENCH

When English language issues are discussed on their own, it is often with reference to fluency in and use of the language. There are numerous evaluations of fluency (e.g. "broken" English; "gradually improving" English; "good" English) and remarks on a lack of fluency (see selected examples in Table 3)

Frank was three."My mother **didn't speak English**," Frank said. At first, all she cou
he haltingly explained she did **not speak English**. After that, we exchanged greeting
h. He asked Mamma also to **speak** to us in **English which she refused**. She taught us to
oncentration, and a few who **speak little English**. At least one worker has a large fa
it students who **speak neither** French **nor English**. The raison d'etre of our French-la
in his gear." He **didn't speak very good English**, but the big fish turned out to be
the mask," says the director, in **halting English**." At the beginning of life, he was
ming Canadian. He intends to **improve his English** so he can volunteer as an English i

more fans while in Moncton. He says his **English isn't very strong**, but Bussires add
" Malkin said in his **gradually improving English**. "Now, we're couple years older and
Normandeau before him, is **not at ease in English**, although he made a commitment, aft
age of 30; a huge number of them have **no English at all**. I volunteered in a centre f
he village; his mother Nathalie spoke **no English** but somehow managed to chat with he
are Chinese. Most of the clients have **no English** despite having been in Canada for y
d not be found. Dziekanski, who spoke **no English**, eventually began throwing around f
which is usually passed along in **broken English** and riddled with grammatical errors
s curious about Canada, but spoke **broken English**. Then again, we could barely string
d the images. I was questioned in **broken English** for about 20 minutes – sometimes he

Table 3: Selected English concordance lines discussing fluency in English

These examples suggest not only that languages (and English in particular) are tools to be used, but also that fluency (e.g. "speak English") is an important part why languages are discussed at all. ~~Fluency~~Native-like fluency in English is especially valued: although references to FRENCH are far more frequent than references to ENGLISH (see above), there are far more *evaluations* of English. For example, while there are six references to "broken English", there are no references to "broken French". According to Garvin (1993), individuals' fluency is highly prized when a language has predominantly instrumental value; in contrast, if a language has a predominantly integrative value, then expectations for individual fluency in a standard language may be lower. Notably, he cites English-speaking countries as places where instrumental attachment to language dominates (Garvin, 1993, p. 51). Thus, these and other findings from English Canadian newspapers suggest that languages are represented as having predominantly instrumental value.

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In contrast, there is less evidence in the French Canadian newspapers of languages having predominantly instrumental value. There are fewer references to using language in this corpus, and the only (comparatively rare) evaluations of fluency pertain to English language fluency (see Table 4).

autres avec Robert Redford, même si elle **parlait mal anglais**. Je n'aime pas la télé trop léch
handicap : linguistique d'abord (il **parlait à peine anglais**) et musical par le fait qu'il n'e
omprenait pas les paroles parce qu'il ne **parlait pas anglais**, mais il connaissait toutes les c
vite dû demander à la guide de parler français: son **anglais était pratiquement inintelligible**
nt des jeunes vêtus à l'occidentale, parlant un **bon anglais**, ou encore des **étudiants, des jo**

Table 4: Selected French concordance lines discussing fluency in English

Thus, despite the fact that there are comparatively more references to languages and language issues in French Canadian newspapers, these tend not to occur within discussions of fluency. Instead of foregrounding the instrumental value of languages through such topics, discussions of the French language tend to be varied, diverse and creative and not focused on a limited range of topics (e.g. education).

Thus, some of the major differences between overall representations of languages in the English and French Canadian newspapers are that (1) languages and language issues are discussed more in French than in English, (2) discussions of the first language predominate in French, whereas discussions of second languages predominate in English, and (3) discussions of language use and fluency are more frequent in English than they are in French. Another important distinction between the two datasets is that language issues are diverse and varied in French, whereas they tend to be included in fewer contexts in English. In fact, in English Canadian newspapers, language issues tend to be raised most often in discussions of language education.

In the English corpus, ~~there are~~ numerous ~~statistically significant words pertaining~~keywords pertain to language education (see Table 5).

Positive key word	Frequency	Number of texts in which word occurs	% of words in corpus	Reference corpus frequency	% of words in reference corpus	Keyness score
SCHOOL	866	287	0.09	6658	0.04	306.75
STUDENTS	397	127	0.04	2849	0.02	166.23
EDUCATION	312	128	0.03	2034	0.01	160.67
IMMERSION	57	20		65		158.06
LITERACY	85	30		213		145.49
SCHOOLS	225	97	0.02	1479	0.01	113.93
CLASSES	120	58	0.01	598		97.90
TEACHERS	129	56	0.01	787		75.49
COURSES	79	36		389		65.58
STUDENT	148	88	0.01	1172		48.47
TEACHING	78	56		472		46.33
KINDERGARTEN	55	19		279		43.70
CAMPUS	56	21		290		43.13
LEARNING	125	87	0.01	993		40.59
GRADUATES	61	28		373		35.54
TAUGHT	58	50		368		31.50
TEACH	56	42		354		30.64
ACADEMIC	60	49		394		30.44

Table 5: English keywords pertaining to education

Since keywords are words that are unusually frequent in comparison with another dataset, these words suggest that discussions of education are particularly prominent in English Canadian newspaper texts that (even when in passing) discuss language issues.

This is not the only indication that language education is topical in English Canadian newspapers. When the words LANGUAGE, FRENCH, and ENGLISH are examined, they have a semantic preference for (i.e., they collocate frequently with) education-related words (collocates marked with an asterisk (*) are statistically significant using Mutual Information). The word LANGUAGE (671 occurrences) collocates with SCHOOL* (10), LEARNING (11), SKILLS* (11) LEARN (9), TEACHING (6), STUDENTS (6), TRAINING (6), CLASSES* (6), and EDUCATION (5). The word ENGLISH (794 occurrences) collocates with SCHOOL* (25), SCHOOLS* (19), CLASSES* (11), UNIVERSITY* (8), INSTRUCTOR (6), STUDENTS* (6), TEACHER* (5) and TEACHING (5). Finally, FRENCH (1489 occurrences) collocates with IMMERSION* (48), SCHOOL* (39), SCHOOLS* (20), EDUCATION (14), STUDENTS (13), LEARNED* (9), CLASSES* (7), KINDERGARTEN* (7), and STUDENT (7). In other words, education tends to be discussed frequently within the context of language issues, suggesting the topical nature of language education.

Finally, individual texts, too, can attest not only the importance of language education in English Canadian newspapers, but also the contentious nature of language education in Canada. Two of the four downsampled English texts focus specifically on issues of language education. While space does not permit a detailed consideration of the findings that emerged from the discourse analysis, let us illustrate some of the principal characteristics of these texts.

Notably, the two English texts (Ferenczy, 2009; Howlett, 2009) both discuss the proposed expansion of French Ontario school admissions. With the changes, students from outside Canada who acquired French in their country of origin would be able to attend Ontario's French schools. However, this expansion would not extend to English-speaking Canadians.

Howlett (2009) notes that this announcement occurs at a time when cuts are being made to French immersion programmes and contrasts this expansion of admission eligibility (which is due to the low enrolment of French Ontarians, i.e. those constitutionally entitled to such education) with cuts made to the highly popular French immersion programmes for English-speaking Canadians. The cuts are evaluated negatively; for example, the government is described as "under siege over cuts to French immersion programmes", and Howlett reports that communities are calling for boycotts of the alternatives (i.e. travelling to more remote schools where French immersion is still offered). The other downsampled text is a letter to the editor from Monika Ferenczy, former President of Canadian Parents for French (Ontario). Ferenczy (2009) argues in favour of expanding admission guidelines for French-language schools in Ontario because "all students should have opportunities to become proficient and literate in both official languages". Ferenczy explains that Canadian Parents for French "encourages initiatives to improve access to education in French".

The debate over these changes to admissions is underpinned by the understanding of the value of languages in Canadian society and the role of education in distributing this resource equally to Canadian students. In other words, Howlett's text implies that although the English-speaking majority continues to demonstrate interest in French, the infrastructure to support it is dwindling. At the same time, non-English Canadians are being provided unequal access to this valuable social commodity. Ferenczy's argument that all students should have opportunities "to become proficient and literate" in the official languages foregrounds the importance of bilingual fluency while backgrounding the intrinsic role of languages in social life (i.e., the symbolic role of language for French Canadians; the symbolic role of bilingualism for Canadians). In other words, in these examples, equality of access to fluency in official languages is privileged over French-speaking Canadians' desire for

intergenerational linguistic and cultural transmission – which is, in fact, at the heart of their constitutional rights.

In contrast, even though language issues are more topical in the French Canadian newspapers than the English Canadian newspapers (see above), language education is far less topical in the French newspapers. For example, while numerous education-related keywords emerged from the English newspapers (see Table 5), few emerged from the French newspapers (see Table 6).

Positive Keyword	Frequency	% of words in corpus	Reference corpus Frequency	% of words in reference corpus	Keyness Score
ÉCOLES	105	0.013	347		56.33
ÉLÈVES	145	0.018	563		55.79
ENSEIGNANTS	58		166		39.67
L'ÉCOLE	172	0.02	892	0.01	27.71

Table 6: French keywords pertaining to education

Also, despite the high frequency of the word form FRANÇAIS (i.e. *français/e/s*) (1601 occurrences), it has few education-related collocates, and none of the following are statistically significant collocates (i.e. using Mutual Information Scores): L'ÉCOLE (7), L'ENSEIGNEMENT (7), ÉCOLES (6), and ÉTUDES (5). The word form LANGUE (*langue/s*) (489 occurrences) only collocates with ÉCOLES in six instances, and ANGLAIS (*anglais/e/s*) (423 occurrences) has no collocates pertaining to education. Finally, although four texts were downsampled from the French corpus for closer analysis, the only discussion of language education pertains to French language education for immigrants.

Havrankova's (2009) letter to the editor argues that immigrants to Quebec should feel privileged to learn French, which is both a "beautiful" (*belle*) language that inspires pride and joy, as well as being a valuable language internationally. While other languages, such as Swedish and Dutch, are geographically limited, Havrankova argues that "knowledge of French opens the door not only to Quebec culture – already rich – but also to the immense culture of international Francophonie" (*la connaissance du français ouvre la porte non seulement sur la culture québécoise, déjà riche, mais aussi sur l'immense culture francophone mondiale*).

The argument that immigrants must learn French also occurs in other texts. In fact, FRANÇAIS is the only non-grammatical (or "functional") word to collocate with IMMIGRANT (*immigrant/e/s, immigration*) (5 occurrences), and although the strength of this collocation is not statistically significant, concordance lines indicate the extent to which it is seen as important that French is adopted by immigrants (see Table 7).

dais. Pour promouvoir **l'apprentissage du français par les immigrants,** le gouvern
ébécois dont **la langue maternelle est le français estiment que «les immigrants**
lusieurs stratégies: rendre **les cours du français** accessibles, jumeler **les immig**
e **l'intégration des immigrants, c'est le français** et l'emploi.» Il se demande e

Table 7: **Selected French concordance lines with FRANÇAIS and IMMIGRANT/E/S**

In these examples, language education (*apprentissage, cours du français*) and fluency in French are foregrounded with relation to immigrants in Quebec.

In summary, although language education is comparatively less topical in the French data, when language education is discussed it is sometimes with regard to immigrant acquisition of

French. Unlike in the English Canadian newspapers, there is little discussion of education in the other of Canada's two official languages. Although these findings may be a result of the limited time period of collection (June-July), the fact that language education is less topical in the French newspapers nonetheless suggests that in French-speaking Canadian newspapers (1) language is not *only* or even *predominantly* an education issue, and (2) there seems to be more concern over immigrant acquisition of French than French-speaking students' acquisition of the other official language.

~~6~~5. Discussion and conclusion

This study began by posing two research questions. In order to interpret the findings discussed in Section 5, let us return to them here.

The first question asked if representations of language education differed between English and French Canadian newspapers. Findings showed that although language issues are discussed much more frequently in French Canadian newspapers, the English Canadian newspapers in fact contain far more discussions of language education. In English Canadian newspapers, a dominant issue appears to be education in the other official language, with salient references to French immersion and both downsampled texts focusing on access to education in the official languages. In contrast, the French Canadian newspapers contained far fewer discussions of language education. Where language education was topical, the need for immigrants to learn the French language was foregrounded. In the downsampled texts, only one discussed language education, and that text, too, focused on immigrants learning French.

The second question asked if the intrinsic or instrumental value of languages was foregrounded in representations. Representations in English Canadian newspapers, and particularly the downsampled texts that were overviewed, tended to prioritise fluency in languages and equality of access to language education through, for example, French Immersion (e.g. Ferenczy, 2009; Howlett, 2009). In other words, language education, the means by which to access valuable social resources, is represented as something that should be democratically available to all. These findings corroborate the argument made by Heller (1990, p. 79):

> To the extent that Franco-Ontarian schools represent a particularly attractive path to the valued resource that bilingualism has become, they have also become a battleground between francophones and anglophones over who will have access to those schools. Many francophones claim that anglophone access effectively destroys any possibility francophones may have to really preserve their language and their identity. Many anglophones, essentially not understanding the fragile position of minorities in Canadian society, argue for open, democratic access to any and all forms of education (after all, there are no obstacles to francophone access to English-language schools)

As Heller argues, the value of bilingualism is recognised by English-speaking Ontarians (and arguably English-speaking Canadians more generally), and this suggests that the instrumental rather than intrinsic value of languages is being foregrounded. Moreover, this finding supports Garvin's (1993, p. 51) arguments about the privileging of fluency and the instrumental value of languages in English-speaking countries.

In contrast, in French Canadian newspapers, the fact that language education is represented as most important for immigrants suggests the integrative value of language. This was also corroborated by a downsampled text (Havrankova, 2009), which explained the value of the French language in Quebec society. These findings are in line with previous research (e.g. Oakes and Warren, 2007, p. 34), which explains that integrative motivation is central to the policy goal of making French the language of public communication in Quebec. Even instrumental motivations to learn French are intended to spill over into integrative ones, thereby reinforcing immigrants' commitment to learn French (Oakes and Warren, 2007, p. 92).

These divergent representations may suggest some of the reasons why there continue to be lingering issues with language policy in Canada. Representations of languages – and language education – are underpinned by language ideologies, which appear to differ insofar as they are manifested in the newspapers under examination. These language ideologies may affect the viability of implementing policy. English speakers have for some time failed to understand the importance of the French language to French-speaking Canadians. Haque (2012, p. 161) notes that the Commissioners of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the 1960s found that anglophones were complacent about language maintenance and had little understanding of the role of language in intergenerational cultural transmission. If English speakers continue to ignore the importance of the French language in intergenerational cultural transmission in French Canada (i.e. the intrinsic value of language for French speakers in Canada), then it follows that the language education will not be understood in the same way in English- and French-speaking Canada.

Saul (1997, p. 424) contends that if French is to have a future in Canada, then the key to strengthening it is "in constantly seeking to understand the experience of those who use it – that is, their culture". If Canada's language policies are to be effective, then perhaps the focus should not be more or less exclusively on education and fluency. The findings outlined here suggest that differences in the salience of representations of language education, and differences between the content of these representations, may pertain to broader divergent language ideologies in English- and French-speaking Canada. While English Canadian newspapers foreground the learning of French for instrumental purposes (although ideological reasons such as national unity could also be a motivation, albeit less salient), the French Canadian newspapers do not foreground discussions of language education; when it is discussed, concerns over immigrants learning French tend to predominate. The explanation for these different representations may be that it is largely taken for granted that in English-speaking Canada immigrants will learn English; in contrast, in French-speaking Canada, assumptions are not (or cannot) be made about immigrants acquiring French. Furthermore, that francophones (and allophones, too) will learn English may be less salient in the data because it, too, can largely be assumed. What the results suggest, then, is the ways in which issues become foregrounded or backgrounded in the newspapers as a result of the collective interests (and stakes, concerns, and assumptions) of each group. Also what they suggest is that there are different collective interests being expressed in English and French Canadian newspapers.

It must be acknowledged that there are limitations to this study. Notably, Ontario has been overrepresented within the English data, especially with regard to language education, and regional specificities have been glossed. Another limitation is that these findings are based only on newspaper data – which may be influenced by commercial interests or ownership –

and only a small three-week sample of articles; more research on larger, more diverse datasets is needed for corroboration. Nevertheless, the findings outlined here are in fact in line with other research that has suggested that French language education is central to English Canadian engagement with bilingualism (e.g. Heller, 2003a; Hayday, 2005). However, the focus on education in English-speaking Canada continues to re-assert that languages have instrumental rather than intrinsic roles in society. Not only has the "language-as-resource" approach to language planning been highlighted as problematic (e.g. Ricento, 2005), but also such an instrumental approach misses out on the fundamentally important identity value of the French language in Canada. Indeed, the intrinsic value of the French language has been the driving force for French-speaking Canadians to preserve their language and culture over the past four centuries. Rather than language education, then, it is perhaps the case that the Canadian bilingual model would be better served by improved cross-cultural education.

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